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SECRET STATE 206454

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: RW, PINS, PGOV, PREL, PREF, PHUM

SUBJECT: RWANDA: REPATRIATION AND THREATS TO

PEACEKEEPERS

"ROME FOR CHACON AND ALSO FOR VATICAN, LONDON FOR MCKINLEY, BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW, MADRID FOR CLARKE, PARIS SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 206454 022206Z FOR PERLOW, USNATO FOR FOX, BONN FOR KLEMP, USCINCEUR AND HQ US CENTRAL COMMAND FOR POLADS, HQ USEUCOM FOR EC J-5, COMMANDER USASETAF FOR G-2"

- 1. SECRET/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT ENTIRE TEXT
- 2. INR'S AUGUST 2 ASSESSMENT ENTITLED "RWANDA: REPATRIATION AND THREATS TO PEACEKEEPERS" IS PROVIDED FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND COMMENT, AS APPROPRIATE.

BEGIN TEXT

- 3. THE PROMPT RETURN OF LARGE NUMBERS OF RWANDAN REFUGEES WOULD EASE THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN ZAIRE, BUT WOULD FROBABLY HEIGHTEN RPF INSECURITY AND INTERNAL DISORDER WITHIN RWANDA. THE MAJOR THREAT TO CIVIL ORDER INSIDE RWANDA-AND NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES-COMES FROM DISAFFECTED ETHNIC HUTU, FARTICULARLY DEFEATED RWANDAN ARMY TROOPS AND MILITIAMEN. THE THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES OVER THE NEXT FEW MONTHS SHOULD BE MINIMAL.
- 4. REPATRIATION HAS THUS FAR BEEN QUITE LIMITED--ONLY ABOUT 70,000 REFUGEES RETURNED TO RWANDA FROM THE GOMA, ZAIRE AREA BETWEEN JULY 26 AND AUGUST 1. PROSPECTS FOR A NEAR-TERM LARGE-SCALE RETURN AFFEAR SLIGHT OWING TO A DEEP FEARS OF THE TUTSI-DOMINATED RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) HELD BY MOST OF THE NEARLY 2 MILLION PREDOMINATELY HUTU, RWANDAN REFUGEES.

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IN ORGANIZING A SAFE AND PROMPT REPATRIATION OF TH
REFUGEES IS TO PREVENT RIPENED CROPS FROM ROTTING IN THE
FIELDS AND TO SALVAGE AS MUCH OF THE HARVEST AS
POSSIBLE. THE AVAILABILITY OF LOCALLY-PRODUCED FOOD
SUPPLIES WOULD ENABLE INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS
TO CONCENTRATE ON EMERGENCY MEDICAL AND SANITATION NEEDS.

- 6. MOVING REFUGEES AWAY FROM CONTAMINATED WATER SOURCES IN GOMA WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY STEM THE SPREAD OF CHO ERA IF TEMPORARY RELOCATION CAMPS AND REFORM ATD VILLAGES IN RWANDA WERE ABLE TO MAINTAIN SUFFICIENT SUPPLIES OF UNCONTAMINATED WATER AND ADEQUATE SANITATION. A RELIEF EFFORT MOUNTED OUT OF KIGALI IS EASIER AND LESS COSTLY THAN ONE REQUIRING TRANSPORT TO THE ISOLATED LOCALES OF GOMA AND BUKAVU IN ZAIRE AND NGARA, TANZANIA
- 7. ENCOURAGING REFUGEES TO RETURN IN TIME FOR THE HARVEST, HOWEVER, COULD MEAN THAT LARGE NUMBERS OF RETURNEES ALREADY INFECTED WITH CHOLERA WOULD RESETTLE

IN VILLAGES WITH INADEQUATE SANITATION; THESE REFUGEES WOULD BE MORE DIFFICULT TO IDENTIFY, REACH AND TREAT QUICKLY WITH ORAL REHYDRATION KITS THAN IF THEY FIRST MOVED TEMFORARILY TO RELOCATION CENTERS. FURTHER A LARGE-SCALE SELF-REPATRIATION LEAVES OPEN THE POSSIBILITY OF LOCALIZED OUTBREAKS OF HUTU-TUTSI VIOLENCE AND AN INFLUX OF HUTU MILITIA GANGS RESPONSIBLE FOR MUCH OF THE RECENT ANTI-TUTSI GENOCIDE.

8. PEACEKEEPERS AND THE NEW GOVERNMENT. THE RPF-INSTALLED GOVERNMENT POSES NO SIGNIFICANT THREAT TO SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 206454 022206Z INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES. ON THE CONTRARY, THE RPF LEADERSHIP. SEARCHING FOR ECONOMIC SUPFORT AND DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION, WILL DO ITS BEST COOPERATIVE WITH US FORCES AND INTERNATIONAL WITH SECURITY
HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS. THE REF S COULD ON OCCASION FUEL TENSIONS BUT SHOULD NOT THREATEN COULD ON OCCASION FUEL TENSIONS BUT SHOULD MOST LIKELY BE
TEFICULTIES WOOLD MOST BINDED DE
THE OFFICE AND COMMANDERS AT THE
LOCAL LEVEL, SOME OF WHOM MAY, IN THE FLUSH OF VICTORY,
LOCAL LEVEL, SOME OF WHOM PAIT, IN

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- 9. THREAT FROM HUTU MILITIAS SLIGHT. SMALL BANDS OF HUTUS, SOME OF WHOM WERE INVOLVED IN THE RECENT GENOCIDE, PROBABLY WILL CONTINUE TO ROAM MUCH OF THE RWANDAN COUNTRYSIDE -- AWAY FROM MAJOR ROADS AND HEAVILY POPULATED AREAS -- AND BEYOND THE CONTROL OF THE RFF. THESE DISAFFECTED HUTUS -- ARMED WITH MACHETES AND IN SOME CASES, SMALL ARMS OR GRENADES -- WILL TARGET RPF, TUTSIS AND THOSE HUTUS PERCEIVED AS COLLABORATORS, BUT WILL MAINLY ENGAGE IN ORDINARY BANDITRY. THE POSSIBILITY OF AN AMBUSH OF PEACEKEEPERS OR RELIEF CONVOYS CANNOT BE RULED OUT. HUTU GANGS OPERATING WITHIN RWANDA AND CROSS-BORDER WILL BE A PERSISTENT THORN IN THE SIDE OF THE RPF GOVERNMEN , BUT SHOULD NOT POSE A MAJOR THREAT TO PEACEKEEPING FORCES IN THE COMING MONTHS.
- 10. KIGALI AND THE IMMEDIATE ENVIRONS: SECURE. THE RPF HOLD ON KIGALI IS SECURE, AND SHOULD REMAIN SO FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. THE RPF IS A RELATIVELY WELL-DISCIPLINED FORCE WITH GOOD COMMAND AND CONTROL AND SECRET

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SHOULD BE ABLE TO KEEP HUTU GANGS AWAY FROM THE
CAFITAL. UNAMIR HAS REPORTED NO SIGNIFICANT THREATS TO
ITS SECURITY IN THE CAPITAL SINCE THE RPF TOOK OVER JULY
4. SMALL-SCALE TERRORIST-TYPE ATTACKS--SUCH AS A
GRENADE THROWN INTO A CROWDED BAR OR NIGHTCLUB--MAY

OCCUR IN THE COMING MONTHS AND COULD POSE A THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL FORCES.

11. ANTI-AIRCRAFT THREATS:

WE ARE SKEPTICAL OF THIS UNCORROBORATED REPORT, AND CONSIDER THE CHANCES OF SUCH AN ATTACK TO BE VERY LOW. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT MANY HUTU LEADERS OPPOSED THE RECENT US "DE-RECOGNITION" OF THE RUMP GOVERNMENT AND THAT HUTU HARDLINERS ARE PRIME SUSPECT IN THE FATAL MISSILE ATTACK ON HABYARIMANA'S PLANE IN APRIL.

12. FRENCH ZONE: SOME DANGER. THE FRENCH, WHOSE INTERVENTION THE RPF CONSISTENTLY OPPOSED, HAVE SUFFERED TWO WOUNDED SINCE DEPLOYING IN RWANDA JUNE 23. BOTH CASUALTIES--ONE OF WHOM WAS WOUNDED IN GOMA AND ONE IN

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THE FRENCH SELF-DECLARED SAFE ZONE
THE FRENCH HAVE REPORTED NO ARMED INCIDENTS
WITH THE RFF SINCE JULY 17, BUT IN THE LAST WEEK HAVE
INDICATED THAT HUTU MILITIAS HAVE BEEN PREYING UPON THE
LOCAL POPULATION AND OCCASIONALLY SKIRMISHING WITH
FRENCH AND ALLIED PERSONNEL. OVERCROWDED CONDITIONS IN
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THE FRENCH ZONE HAVE ALSO POSED A THREAT; IN ONE
INSTANCE, SHORTAGES AND CROWDING STIRRED UP RWANDANS TO
THE POINT THAT FRENCH TROOPS WERE AFRAID THEY MIGHT HAVE
TO FIRE IN SELF-DEFENSE.

- 13. ZAIRE: THE DANGER OF ANARCHY. THE SECURITY THREAT IN ZAIRE TO FOREIGN TROOPS STEMS FROM THE POSSIBILITY OF RIOTS AND FUBLIC DISORDER. TENSIONS ARE HIGH BECAUSE OF ZAIRIAN RESENTMENT OF THE RWANDAN INTRUDERS, INTRA-RWANDAN FEUDING, AND FOOD AND WATER SHORTAGES. THE MAJOR SECURITY THREAT WOULD LIKELY COME FROM SPONTANEOUS UPHEAVALS SUCH AS FOOD RIOTS CAUSED BY TOO MANY PEOPLE RESIDING IN TOO SMALL AN AREA WITH TOO FEW RESOURCES TO SUPPORT THEM.
- 14. HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES. SOME SIGNIFICANT HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES PROBABLY WILL OCCUR WHILE PEACEKEEPING FORCES ARE DEPLOYED IN RWANDA AS THE RPF SEEKS TO CONSOLIDATE ITS CONTROL OF THE COUNTRY AND BRING TO JUSTICE THOSE INVOLVED IN THE GENOCIDE. THESE ABUSES WOULD GENERALLY BE CARRIED OUT BY LOCAL AND TUTSIS BENT ON REVENGE AND WOULD NOT BE AIMED AT FOREIGNERS; THE

PERPETRATORS, UNLIKE MANY OF THE HUTU MILITIAS INVOLVED IN THE ANTI-TUTSI GENOCIDE, WILL MAKE AN EFFORT

INDIVIDUAL FOREIGNERS IN THE WRONG PLACE AT THE WRONG TIME COULD BE AT SOME RISK.

15. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. CHRISTOPHER

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